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AUTHOR Weber, Sandra; And Others
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ABSTRACT

This study on the use of drawings was part of a larger investigation of children's and teacher's pedagogical knowledge and experience and the gradual and life-long nature of socialization into teaching. The study used drawings to investigate the influence of imagery in teacher identity. The premise of the study was that drawings are a form of text and as such they can be "read." The major data source consisted of drawings done by 64 university students enrolled in elementary education programs. In conjunction with a journal kept for a seminar on reflective practice, the students were asked to draw a "teacher," to write about their drawings, reflecting on how they had represented "teacher," and later to share their drawings with the group and discuss what the drawings meant to them. Sample journal entries illustrate why individuals chose traditional or nontraditional representations of "teacher" as well as the students' verbal images of "teacher." Results suggest that use of such drawings can help preservice teachers develop their professional identities; that much university rhetoric and most models of teacher education abhor traditional images of the teacher; and that it may be more fruitful to work with rather than "undo" existing images of the teacher. Results also support the use of such drawings to help teachers critically reflect on the teaching profession. Sample drawings are included. (Contains 43 references.) (ND)

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Drawing ourselves into teaching: studying the images that shape and distort teacher education

Sandra Weber
Associate Professor
Department of Education
Concordia University
1400 de Maisonneuve W., LB 568-10
Montreal, Quebec
H3G 1M8
Tel. (514) 848-2025 Fax (514) 848-4520

Claudia Mitchell
Associate Professor
Faculty of Education
McGill University
3700 McTavish Street
Montreal, Quebec
H3A 1Y2
Tel. (514) 398-4526 Fax (514) 398-4529

Vanessa Nicolai
Department of Education
Concordia University
1400 de Maisonneuve W., LB 568-10
Montreal, Quebec
H3G 1M8
Tel. (514) 848-2025 Fax (514) 848-4520

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Drawing ourselves into teaching: Studying the images that shape and distort teacher education

by Sandra Weber, Claudia Mitchell, and Vanessa Nicolai

This study is part of a larger investigation of children's and teachers' pedagogical knowledge and experience, and the gradual and life-long nature of socialization into teaching (Mitchell & Weber, in press; Weber & Mitchell, 1995; Weber & Mitchell, in press). By examining visual and written data provided by both preservice and experienced teachers, we explore the use of drawings to investigate the pervasive influence of imagery in the emergence of teacher identity.

As scholars such as Britzman (1992), Elbaz (1991) and Goodson (1980) point out, teacher identity is not static or singular in nature. Moreover, teacher role and function are not synonymous with identity:

> whereas role can be assigned, the taking up of an identity is a constant social negotiation that can never be permanently settled or fixed, occurring as it necessarily does, within the irreconcilable contradictions of situational and historical constraints. (Britzman, 1992, p. 42)

How do childhood memories and indelible social stereotypes silently colour the voices beginning teachers use to speak their emerging identity? What images of "teacher" lurk deep in the shadows of our automatic responses, texturing our identity and the way we teach and think? To explore these and other

questions, we turned to drawings of teachers as a springboard for reflection in the contexts of initial teacher education programs as well as graduate level continuing professional development.

Drawings as text

Our work is founded on the premise that drawings are a form of text, and as such, they can be "read". In Western societies' fascination with writing, the rootedness of texts in visual imagery is often neglected. Yet, like writing, visual imagery has a strong communicative function. Indeed, one of the hallmarks of a good written text is its ability to evoke clear, vivid mental pictures for the reader. Writing paints pictures with words, while drawings speak with lines and colours. This point is illustrated by a picture drawn by an 11-year-old girl of a teacher reading a story to her class (see Fig. 1). The drawing features an interesting twist to the familiar cartoon technique of using words in bubbles to communicate thoughts and speech. Instead of a written text in the bubble to show what the teacher is saying, the girl chose instead to draw a picture, conveying in a very creative and economical fashion the image-essence of story-telling and listening. Support for the extension of the notion of "text" to include visual images is widespread in the field of cultural studies (see, for example, Fiske, 1987, 1989).

What drawings can say

Drawings have been used for decades as markers and mirrors of personal identity. Examples include well known projection tests such as the Rorshach ink blots, the Draw-a-Person, and

Kinetic Family drawing tests. Similarly, picture-drawing is, for most art therapists, a key to understanding their clients' thoughts and feelings, and to helping them make sense of their life situations. Adler (1982) has shown that as a projective technique, drawings provide people with a good opportunity not only to reflect their personal feelings and attitudes toward people and situations, but also to express the group values that are prevalent within their cultural environment.

Drawings offer a different kind of glimpse into human sense-making than written or spoken texts do, because they can express that which is not easily put into words: the ineffable, the elusive, the not-yet-thought-through, the sub-conscious. Langer (1971) calls into question the Western view that ideas presented visually are less valid and important than those presented through conventional language:

> Art objectifies the sentient and desire, self-consciousness and world consciousness, emotions and moods that are generally regarded as irrational because words cannot give us clear ideas of them. But the premise tacitly assumed in such a judgment -- namely, that anything language cannot express is formless and irrational -- seems to be an error. (p. 91)

Much of what we have seen or known, thought or imagined, remembered or repressed, slips unbidden into our drawings, revealing unexplored ambiguities, contradictions and connections. That which we have forgotten, which we might censor from our

speech and writing, often escapes into our drawings.

Images of teaching: Some clarifications

"How do you <u>see</u> yourself as a teacher?" A questioning of identity necessarily involves image-making. We use the word "image" to refer to an idea or mental representation, a conception with a visual or physical flavour, an experiential meaning, a context or history, and a metaphorical, generative potential. Image-making is an essential characteristic of human sense-making (Wilson & Wilson, 1979). Images are constructed and interpreted in attempts to make sense of human experience and to communicate that sense to others. These images are in turn incorporated into human experience, and are thus subject to re-constructions and re-interpretations. While images always maintain some connection to people, places, things, or events, their generative potential in a sense gives them a life of their own, so that we not only create images, but are also shaped by them.

Images exert their generative power largely through their fundamental role in metaphor. Dickmeyer (1989) succinctly describes metaphor as:

> a characterization of a phenomenon in familiar terms. To be effective in promoting understanding of the phenomenon in question, the "familiar terms" must be graphic, visible, and physical in our scale of the world. To characterize teaching as pouring knowledge into the empty vessel of a student is to describe the

> phenomenon in physical terms at a very "handy" size. In our imagination, we can see ourselves physically "doing teaching" in this way. (p. 151)

Many scholars have studied the use of metaphors and images in education (e.g., Bullough, Knowles, & Crow, 1991; Elbaz, 1991; Eraut, 1985; Hunt, 1987; Miller & Fredericks, 1988; Munby, 1986; Provenzo, McCloskey, Kottkamp, & Cohn, 1989; Russell & Johnston, 1988). Bullough et al. (1991) suggest that, through their metaphorical power, images are both the building blocks of our thinking schemata, and the filters through which we unconsciously assess our pedagogical knowledge.

Much of the work on metaphor in teacher education centres on the search for appropriate metaphors to conceptualize teaching (e.g., gardening or sculpting). The metaphors chosen by various authors evoke the particular images and ideologies of teaching that underlie their own work. De Castell (1988) notes, among the wide range of images used by scholars through the centuries to describe teachers, Socrates' teacher as mid-wife, Dewey's teacher-as-artist/scientist, Skinner's teacher-as-technician, Stenhouse's teacher-as-researcher, Eisner's teacher-as-artist, Greene's teacher-as-stranger, and her own teacher-as-strategist, an image she derives from comparing teaching to warfare:

> Warfare--this way of seeing often, sadly, seems to aptly describe how both teachers and students feel in their day-to-day and year-to-year interaction with one another. (p. 69)

In stark contrast to De Castell's image are Bullough's (1991) findings, which indicate that many beginning teachers see teaching as a form of mothering or nurturing. He also uncovered images as diverse as teacher-as-butterfly, teacher-as-policewoman, teacher-as-chameleon, and of course, teacher-as-bitch. Joseph & Burnaford (1994) noted with some astonishment the recurrence of the image of teacher-as-witch in fictional accounts as well as in narratives written by teachers themselves.

Image-making is not only an individual process, but also a collective one, a sharing of the myriad artefacts and symbols that help constitute cultural identity. Images can oversimplify, mislead or elucidate. Their role and contribution to professional knowledge cannot be understood, however, until they are uncovered, recognized, and explored.

Drawing ourselves as teachers: A description of the data

The major data source for this paper consists of drawings done by 64 university students enroled in Elementary Education programs (two undergraduate groups of preservice teachers and one group of graduate students, most of whom were experienced teachers). In conjunction with a journal they kept as part of the requirements for a seminar on reflective practice, the students were asked during one class to draw a teacher. Although they were free to draw any teacher, real or imagined, most of them chose to draw themselves as a teacher, often in the form of an ideal projection. Most of those who did not draw themselves drew a teacher they remembered, or made a composite "image" of

teachers they had known. The students were then asked to write about their drawings, reflecting on how they had represented "teacher". At the next class meeting, individual students shared their drawings with the group and discussed what their drawings meant to them. Towards the end of the seminar, some of the preservice teachers drew a second picture of a teacher after their practicum experience in the schools. As the remainder of this article will illustrate, the drawing/journalling/discussing experience enabled students to articulate previously unexamined ambivalences and tensions around their identity and work as teachers.

Interrogating the images of teaching

We conducted a critical reading of the drawings by displaying them on a long wall and interpreting them in the light of comments made in the preservice teachers' journals and teaching logs. We further examined them in the context of critical theory, cultural studies, and feminist pedagogy. Our analysis reflects a semiotic and dialectical style of interrogation, inspired in part by the work of scholars such as Britzman (1992), Giroux (1992, 1993), McRobbie (1991), and Miller (1990, 1992). The overwhelming majority of the pictures drew on the same pool of signifiers to identify the teachers, including a litany of props (blackboards, erasers, pointers, big front desks, apples, math, and homework), and certain conventional ways of portraying the physical appearance and clothing of the teachers (most often women with shapeless bodies and their hair tied up in

buns, wearing skirts, pearls and glasses). We discuss teacher appearance and gender issues at length elsewhere (see Weber & Mitchell, 1995). Our discussion here will focus on issues of conservatism and reform in images of teachers, and tensions and ambivalences in images of teachers' work.

"Traditional" versus "progressive " images of teachers: A false dichotomy?

Mead (1951/1962) described the image of teacher that dominated America in the first half of this century as one of white middle-class respectability, femininity, docility, and order. Are today's stereotypes different from yesterday's? Can we make clear-cut distinctions between "traditional" and "progressive" types of teachers and teaching, or are the boundaries between the two often blurred?

By "traditional" teaching models, we are referring to ones where teachers transmit their knowledge to passive students. Among the examples of traditional teaching characteristics outlined by Bennett (1987) are: Extrinsic motivation (the use of external rewards), regular testing, little emphasis on creative expression, full teacher control of curriculum planning, and confinement of learning to the classroom space (p. 48). Bennett defines "progressive" teaching as one in which pupils take an active role, participate in curriculum planning, learn by discovery techniques, work cooperatively and creatively, and are not confined to the classroom base (p. 48).

Perhaps the most striking finding of our analysis was the

pervasive presence of classical, traditional images of teaching in the drawings, with a few notable exceptions (see Figs. 2 and 3). The journal entries of those teachers who drew less traditional images suggested that they were deliberately articulating the ideal, transformative, or child-centered approaches to teaching to which they had been exposed in their courses. Of the majority who drew traditional pictures, many were jolted into a recognition of their own struggles, stances, and ambivalences in relation to the dominant transmission images of teaching culturally embedded in the teaching profession. In reflecting and commenting on the pictures, they became aware of the incredible power that past experience and stereotypes seemed to have on them. The following excerpt from one of the journals will illuminate further:

> 1.1. I drew my teacher very traditionally with glasses, conservative clothing, in front of a chalkboard, a woman. I don't think I was thinking about myself as a teacher but more what many of my elementary school teachers looked like. What a stereotype! ... A picture of a teacher sitting with her class as they are actively involved in their learning would be a more appropriate 90s picture ... <u>though it's kind of funny how many of the pictures drawn by my classmates resembled mine. Many other professions don't have such a strong stereotype</u>. (Renee, preservice teacher) [Italics added]

Some of the preservice teachers consciously used the drawings

to question their own identity by acknowledging, interrogating, and protesting certain stereotypes. It seems problematic even for self-aware people to modify images with which they have evolved and which still have a place in classroom reality. Several preservice teachers indicated that, far from reinforcing the bold new images of teaching encountered in teacher education courses, their actual practicum experiences only served to reinforce traditional images (see also Liston & Zeichner, 1991; Zeichner & Tabachnik, 1981). In fact, traditional teaching is probably a lot more pervasive than we might have expected. As Delamont (1987) has indicated, traditional teaching methods can often be found in in the guise of progressive techniques:

> What counts as "progressive" and "traditional" has changed over the last forty years, and beneath the rhetoric all the evidence suggests that teachers value the 3Rs as much as they ever did. The idea of the teacher who ignores basic skills is very much a creation of "traditionalists": Very few such teachers have ever been found in real life ... despite the "progressive" <u>appearance</u> of junior school classrooms with tables, small groups and chatter, the interaction patterns are highly traditional. Most of the time the teacher is directing the class and giving out facts, monitoring silent seat work, marking books, hearing children read or doing "housekeeping." Only a tiny amount of a pupil's time is spent in direct contact

> with a teacher, and very little of what the teacher does is cognitively stretching. (pp. 11-15)

The conservatism we discovered in the majority of the preservice teachers' drawings seemed to be a reflection of strong influences past and present: Not only do teachers remember the staid white female teachers pointing at blackboards, who they encountered in their childhood experience and culture, but they also discover, when they get out into the schools as student teachers and teachers, that such stereotypes continue to be the accepted norm. This creates a strong dissonance for those who want to teach in a more progressive mode.

One preservice teacher, Madeleine, expressed this dilemma through the way she clothed herself as a teacher in two drawings, one done prior to her practicum experience (see Fig. 4), the other when she returned to the university from her student teaching (see Fig. 5). On the back of her first picture, she wrote the following:

> 1.2. As I was doing this picture, I thought of myself as a teacher. I pictured myself dressed very comfortably and surrounded by all my children. I don't know why, but ever since I was a child, I was always afraid of teachers dressed with suits. That is why I'd like to portray a different image for my children. Who knows, doing this may not be the image the children are looking for but, I'm certainly going to try. (Madeleine, preservice teacher) (see Fig. 4)

Through this first drawing, Madeleine expresses some elements of

her emerging identity as a teacher. However, once out in the field teaching, she was confronted by the gap between her own aspirations and the reality of her student teaching classroom:

> 1.3. My second picture was a little different. I'm not with little children. I'm with fifth graders and I feel as though this is the way I have to look at my practicum school. Maybe this is the idea that I get from this school. I wouldn't say it is terrible, but that is the way they happen to dress in this school, so I also try to look like these teachers as well. But I would like to look like the first picture I drew. I feel more comfortable looking like the first teacher. That's more me. (Madeleine, preservice teacher) (see Fig. 5)

We see in this last comment a tension between Madeleine's sense of self-betrayal and her desire to conform, to do things "right". Her practical, conformist tendency appears, at least momentarily, to overshadow her idea of breaking away from past impressions of conservative schooling conventions (teachers dressed in suits) -- conventions which left a negative impression on her. It's not easy to swim upstream, especially when you are a beginning teacher. Madeleine's struggle highlights the intersection of personal and professional social identity -- to be a teacher who fits in, she's not sure if she can also be "herself".

Tensions and ambivalences in images of teachers' work: Control versus nurture?

> If we want to understand how teachers make sense of their work -- to acquire an empathetic understanding from within -- we believe that we must explore an artistic form of image that can grasp and reveal the not always definable emotions. (Efron & Joseph, 1994, p. 55)

What do teachers do? How do they perceive their professional role? As mentioned in the previous section, most of the preservice teachers' drawings of teachers suggested traditional rather than progressive models of teaching (Bennett, 1987). As we compared the drawings, we wondered what conceptions of teachers' work lay behind the rows of stern, upright women, armed with desks, pointers, and blackboards.

Teachers in charge

According to the drawings and comments in our study, an important part of a teacher's job is to control student behaviour and maintain order in the classroom. Children's desks, when present, were in orderly rows, while teachers' desks were usually adorned with neat piles of books, paper, and homework. Britzman (1986) has remarked on the importance of control in the classroom:

> Both teachers and students implicitly understand two rules governing the hidden tensions of classroom life: unless the teacher establishes control there will be no learning, and, if the teacher does not control the students, the students will control the teacher ... A

> teacher-centred approach to learning is implicitly sustained since this myth assumes that students are incapable of leadership, insight, or learning without a teacher's intervention. (p. 449)

Our analysis of the preservice teachers' comments on their drawings and interview responses revealed that, as Britzman suggests, teachers are largely expected to assume an authoritarian role in order to teach effectively. Indeed, the teachers seemed preoccupied with classroom control. This focus was expressed through two major signifiers: clothing and classroom props (especially the chalkboard and the teacher's desk). One teacher, for example, expressed her fear and defense strategy in terms of the way she dressed:

> 1.4. Another thing that is important in my drawing is my clothes. I drew myself in my favorite "first day" outfit. Dress is important as it helps command respect. I am very nervous about having a grade five class. It is important that they respect me as a teacher, and not a babysitter, or older sister. I find that being short, and not looking harmful are two things that work against me, so I must dress and act in a way that commands respect. (Roberta, preservice teacher)

We saw, in excerpts 1.2. and 1.3., how preservice teacher Madeleine expressed, through her choice of clothes, a yearning for a practice that could include pleasure and play, followed by

an exasperation, because "the system" militated against this possibility. Roberta (excerpt 1.4.), however, appeared to have made other choices before entering the system. Her drawing and comments indicate that, prior to her practicum experience, she was already operating with an authoritarian image of teaching reminiscent of de Castell's (1988) metaphor of teaching as warfare. Roberta was seeking all possible means to establish firm control as part of her professional role and identity ("it is important that they respect me as a teacher", "I must dress and act in a way that commands respect").

Gina, another preservice teacher, recognized a certain ambiguity in her perception of her professional role regarding classroom control:

> 1.5. The image of a teacher projected by my drawing is one of a stereotyped female teacher. It portrays the teacher as remaining apart from her students rather than working with them. She is ... lecturing to the class, and the ... students are merely listening passively rather than engaging in active learning activities. I myself am a firm believer in active learning & hands-on activities rather than the lecture approach. However, when asked to draw a teacher, the first image that comes to my mind is the stereotypical female teacher standing at the front of the classroom lecturing. I must admit that when I began my fieldwork this term, I stuck close to the teacher's desk. This

> was a nice & secure place for me where my lesson plan & the teacher's manual were conveniently located. After the first week or so I ventured into the student's territory and found that I could be much more effective as a teacher here than way up front at the teacher's desk ... I knew that this method was better it's just that I was a bit insecure at first so I clung to the safety of the teacher's desk. (Gina, preservice teacher) (see Fig. 6)

Gina's comments reveal how unconscious or remembered stereotypical images of teacher as an aloof authority figure still have a significant hold on her, completely displacing, at first, the image of teacher as cooperative participant which seemed so appealing to her during her teacher training program. She seems somewhat surprised that despite her firm belief in active learning, she automatically drew a stereotypical teacher lecturing, and even incorporated that stereotype into her initial teaching experience. Gina's ambivalent experience was common to that of several preservice teachers in our study. Consider, for example, the following comment:

> 1.6. I don't understand why I'm standing up in the picture. I always feel more comfortable sitting on the floor with the children. I love the feeling of being surrounded by children while I'm reading them a story ... It's a real puzzle why I'm standing up in the picture with no children around me ... Maybe it's just

> the way I've always seen teachers; the picture of the teacher being the one in total control, standing up in front of the blackboard. I'm the opposite however, I love noisy busy classrooms full of activity. (Melanie, preservice teacher)

The comments in this section reveal the extent to which traditional stereotypes of teaching and teachers are still powerful forces in the classroom. These stereotypes draw their strength from their familiarity, and from their vivid imagery that can even "re-write" how we see ourselves, replacing tentative new images with the old standbys. Sticking to the teacher's desk, where lesson plan and manual serve as added ammunition, is a strategy familiar to both preservice teachers and children, whereas venturing into the "enemy camp" could be risky for both sides. As Madeleine, who was trying to set up a more democratic classroom, remarked: "Who knows, doing <u>this may not be the image the children are looking for</u>, but I'm certainly going to try" (excerpt 1.2.). Several preservice teachers in our study clung to traditional images, not because they actively agreed with them, but simply because they represented tried and tested methods of dealing with unknown and potentially threatening situations. This is consistent with some aspects of the models of teacher development (survival stage?) discussed by Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1986) and Katz (1972), that suggest that initially, emerging teachers are unsure of themselves and fight to retain almost any image of themselves that can be

labelled "teacher". An authoritarian stance is often based on an unacknowledged and profound sense of fear--a fear that, unless strictly controlled and limited, becomes a threat to one's identity or well-being. As they develop greater confidence and a surer sense of self-as-teacher, the fear may diminish and the need to be in firm control lessens. This is not the case, however, if having overt control remains a central component or belief that underlies one's teacher identity.

Teachers also nurture

Trousdale (1994), who examines how American schoolteachers are portrayed in children's books, points out that many books about kindergarten or first grade "present an image of the teacher as an extension of mother, as a nurturing, protective, and caring person who is indeed able to provide a secure environment" (p. 202). Several female preservice students in our study described their professional role in terms of empathy, warmth and caring:

> 1.7. My teacher has a big head, so that he/she has the capacity to remember each child and each child's problems and accomplishments. The big smile is to comfort children who are frightened and give all children a sense of "I can trust this person!" Gentle, caring eyes (like a Jersey cow's!) show children that teachers can be strict and discipline, but still love them and care about them. The large, long arms allow the teacher to hug all the children who need a hug that

> day. The rays coming out from the head are rays of confidence that push children to their limits and that allow children to develop a sense of confidence and self-worth. (Caroline, preservice teacher) (see Fig. 7)
>
> 1.8. I think a teacher should be a warm, compassionate, caring and understanding person to be empathetic and approachable by her students. (Amelia, preservice teacher) (see Fig. 8)

Since teaching, especially in the early grades, is such a feminized profession, considerations of teachers' professional roles cannot ignore the considerable amount of gender-specific cultural baggage that female teachers (un)consciously carry with them into their profession. As Britzman (1991) observes:

> In the dominant society, so-called favourable images that characterize the teacher as selfless, also mirror the stereotypes associated with women. Like the 'good' woman, the 'good' teacher is positioned as self-sacrificing, kind, overworked, underpaid, and holding an unlimited reservoir of patience ... Such images subvert a critical discourse about the lived contradictions of teaching and the actual struggles of teachers and students. (p. 5)

Trousdale's (1994) analysis of fictional female teachers supports Britzman's observation:

> Female teachers come in a variety of body types. Some are slim; some are of average build; others are plump. Some are

> young; some are middle-aged; others are older. Some are arrayed in frilly, feminine fashions; others wear more tailored clothing. The only characteristic common to the female teachers who are given positive treatment is that they smile. They smile a lot...The two male teachers who are presented in a positive light are young, and they dress casually ... Neither, however, is the constant smiler that we see among the positive female teachers ... What does a smile signify? Surely the female teachers' smiles are intended to indicate good will, a lack of threatening intent. But a smile, as it is often unconsciously practiced by females, also signifies a lack of threat that may be interpreted as a submissive attitude, a desire to please. Why do the male teachers not need to smile so continuously? Does this reflect male and female socialization, and if so, what does it mean for the role of female teachers both in the classroom and in the larger contexts of school and society? (pp. 206-207)

Walkerdine (1990) warns of the dangers that can befall women who become locked into positions of what she labels "pathological nurturance". How do female teachers assert their professional identity against a gendered imagery that urges them to be "nice" and selfless? They are aware that, as women, they are automatically associated with certain nurturing roles that can put them in a position of vulnerability and weakness (see, for example, Roberta's fear in excerpt 1.4., of being seen as a

"babysitter" or "older sister" and of not "looking harmful"). However, women are still socialized to be kind, considerate and caring, and are often drawn to the field of education by those very qualities.

At least some teachers reconcile these apparently conflicting images by combining them. As one elementary teacher in Efron & Joseph's (1994) study put it:

> I am an iron butterfly. Strong but with the sensitivity to flit from flower to flower and draw out what is needed in it. (p. 61)

Concluding remarks

Nurturing images and controlling images are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Perhaps the tendency to misconceive or artificially polarize them reflects the teaching profession's superficial preoccupation with the appearance of authority, rather than an open-minded dwelling on the deeper meanings of authority and caring. Yet as the work of scholars such as Maxine Greene (1973), Nell Noddings, (1984), and Max van Manen (1991) implies, a more nuanced awareness of the complexity and interconnectedness of authority, responsibility, and nurturing might be essential to a well-anchored sense of professional identity that integrates personal as well as social aspirations. Interrogating the images of teachers and women that preservice teachers and experienced teachers incorporate into their professional identity helps them reframe their own personal choices. University rhetoric does not always fit into the school

setting, just as firmly held ideals are not always reflected by individual behaviour. However, an awareness of multiple social influences can empower the individual, allowing him or her to make choices that are more conscious and hence more personally meaningful.

Much university rhetoric and most models of teacher education seem to abhor traditional images, striving to change, refute, or ignore them (Olson, 1993; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981). However, given their pervasiveness and power, it would be naive to ignore them or to conclude that preservice teacher education alone can overcome the situation. Indeed, perhaps part of the difficulty is that teacher education focuses too much on "overcoming" or "unlearning" past experience. As we have pointed out elsewhere (Weber & Mitchell, in press), it may be more fruitful to work **with** rather than "undo" prior knowledge. The persistence of images from the past is not necessarily bad, for as Elbaz says:

> The traditions of the school and the culture are a source of authority for what the teacher does and says. I believe that the place of tradition in teacher thinking is a matter we have tended to treat poorly. When a teacher tells us of a particular innovation "that won't work in my school", we are likely, as educators interested in progress and improvement, to hear this as the voice of teacher conservatism. However, it is just as likely to be the expression of the teacher's tacit understanding of school

> tradition and culture. I believe our difficulty in finding a place for tradition in our own conceptualizations of teacher thinking has to do with the conceptual maps we have ourselves acquired from liberal theories of education according to which progress and change based on dispassionate criticism of the outmoded ways of the past are unquestioned goods, and the traditional is seen as equivalent to the conservative and the archaic. (p. 14)

The labels "conservative" and "progressive" are overburdened with political stereotypes and, like most labels, are too often used to either promote or dismiss images or actions out of hand, without subjecting them to a contextualized and close scrutiny. Rather than dichotomizing them, it might be more productive to view them as two sides of the same coin: Some models that we call progressive are available to us because they have been carefully conserved. Progressive wrappings can disguise regressive messages and revolutionary models can be found within archaic images.

In conclusion, we suggest that the way the drawings were collected and used in this study might prove useful not only in making more explicit the images that influence us, but also in providing a way to evaluate, challenge, or reflect on those images. Inviting teachers to draw, and then to share their drawings, or to write and talk about them, provides an excellent forum for critical reflection, bringing to light the nuances and ambivalences in people's views of teachers, as well as the

historical, social, cultural, and personal stereotypes that can inform our professional knowledge of teacher education.

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Drawing ourselves into teaching:
studying the images that shape and distort teacher education

FIGURES

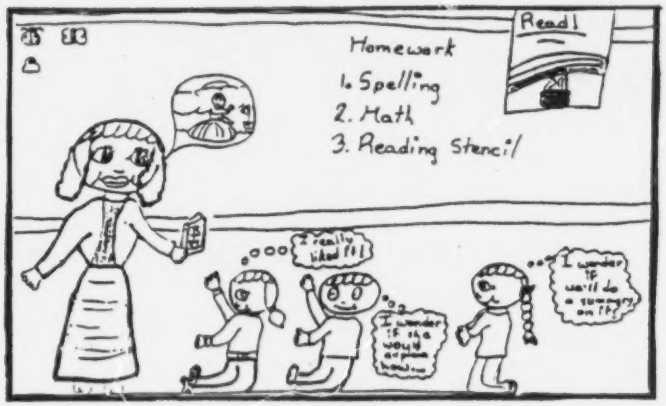

Fig. 1
Interconnectedness of words and images
Drawn by 12-year-old girl

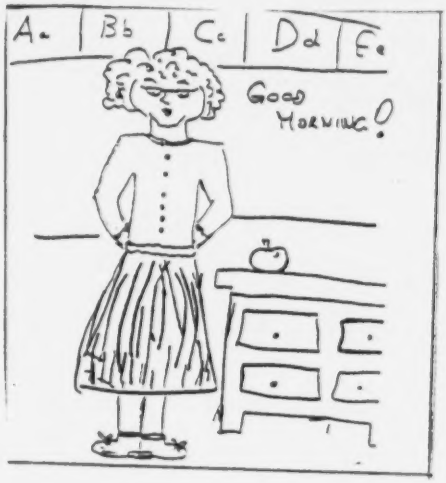

Fig. 2
Traditional portrayal of teacher
Drawn by preservice teacher

Fig. 3
Non-traditional portrayal teacher
Drawn by preservice teacher

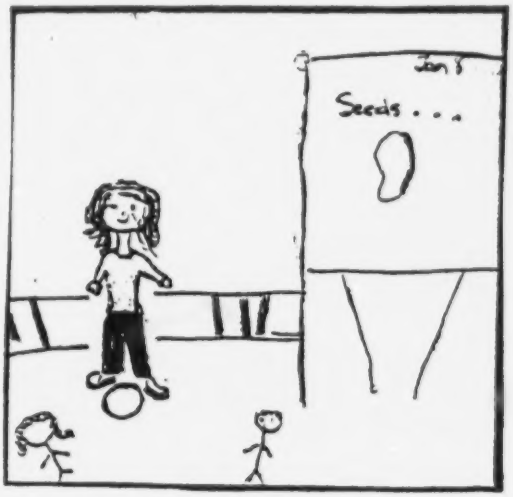

Fig. 4
Ideal portrayal of teacher of before practicum
Drawn by preservice teacher

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Fig. 5
Modified portrayal of teacher after practicum (see Fig. 4)
Drawn by preservice teacher

Fig. 6
Teacher ventures into students' territory
Drawn by preservice teacher

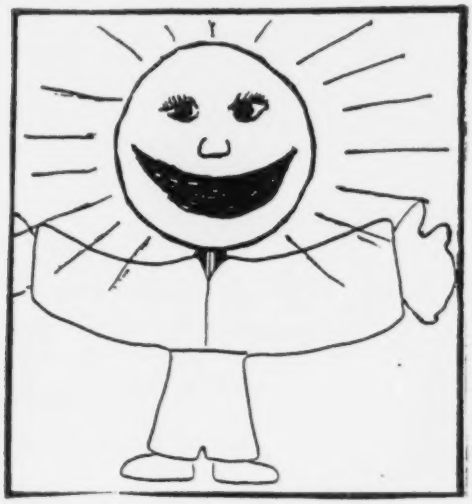

Fig. 7
Teacher as nurturer (I)
Drawn by preservice teacher

Fig. 8
Teacher as nurturer (II)
Drawn by preservice teacher

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